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certain extent as a time of trial for the young husband, even under the changed conditions of the present day.

On this occasion ShiMutale asked his wife, who seemed devoted to him in spite of his laziness and violence, to boil some sweet potatoes for him early in the morning so that he could entertain his friends. The potatoes were his own possession, since he had dug the beds on which they grew, although he had made no millet garden. NaMutale refused, because this would have made her too late to join her mother and sisters at work in the gardens. ShiMutale swore at her and pushed her roughly and she, after the manner of all Bemba women when insulted within earshot of their relatives, shot out a piercing yell. In a moment every one was at their door-way staring, and NaMukonda flung herself across the village in full torrent of abusive defence. This is a regular stage in every matrimonial quarrel among the Bemba—the arrival of the girl's mother, and, if possible, the man's too. People look at each other significantly and say, 'Look there! The mother has come.' They mean that the battle is set. On this occasion the villagers gathered together, and even the quiet Malalo followed in the wake of his more violent wife to support their insulted, but scarcely injured, child. The next stage in this typical quarrel came quickly. The angry women forced their way into the hut and threw out the cooking- and carrying-baskets, and removed the pots—all the women's possessions in fact. This is also the prescribed conduct in a serious matrimonial squabble.[1] The onlookers, like a chorus, commented: 'See, they have thrown out the pots.'. Malalo finally led his sobbing daughter away, and the 'beaten' girl retired to her mother's hut with NaMukonda and her other daughter following, shouting obscene abuse.

The woman's family refused to cook for the husband, and though there was no chance of ShiMutale starving, more especially as he had a number of his own relatives in the village, yet the strike of the cooks had a special significance. It was a repudiation of the legal obligations of the marriage contract, just as the removal of NaMutale's cooking-pots in the first instance was a sign that a serious quarrel had begun. ShiMutale strolled about the village all day long, twanging the Bemba one-stringed lyre, with elaborate unconcern. His young friends idling in the men's shelter amused

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[1] I have notes of eight matrimonial quarrels in which the procedure was just the same.

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769 Mwamba's villages in 1933, I was impressed with the seriousness and reverence of the prayers offered by the chief on the night 796 before the tree-cutting. Citimukulu sat inside one of his ceremonial huts with the most important *bakabilo* around him, his head wife opposite, and the new axe lying in one of the big court eating-baskets wrapped in the length of calico to be given to the spirits. The chief began suddenly to pray, calling out the names of about twenty ancestors, prompted by the Citikafula who sat next him. He asked for the blessing on the work and for peace and well-being. After the words had been said the *bakabilo* took the axe and cloth, and walked quickly to the *benye* shrines with four wrinkled old women—the 'wives of the relics' hobbling behind to unbar the log barricades of the sacred huts. They disappeared inside, followed by the chief *bakabilo*,[1] while the rest of the party crouched on the ground outside, clapping as a sign of respect. Then all returned to make obeisance on the ground outside the chief's hut, each *mukabilo* rolling on his back in turn while his ceremonial name was shouted by his fellows with more clapping of the hands. This alternating obeisance to the dead chiefs at the *beni* huts and to their living representatives in front of the royal dwelling is characteristic of all the Bemba court ritual.

[534] Next morning, before dawn, the chief's big wooden war-drum (*icinkumbi*) began to sound, and his court-singers and praisers (*balukaluka*) stood up on the mound behind his enclosure shouting praise-songs and calling to the people. Every one gathered round excitedly. Citimukulu appeared from his hut with his ceremonial axe over one shoulder. He was hoisted on to a servant's back and set off down the path, while his wives knelt on either side giving the ululation salute. The rest of the party then set off at the double, drums going, rattles shaking, the blind singer wailing, and the children of the village running ahead shrieking with delight. The blessed axe was carried in front of the chief by one of his courtiers and his hereditary bow by another. It was a gay and animated scene. Citimukulu was greeted with shouts and obeisance at each group of huts we passed in a two-hour walk, or rather run. Once arrived at the tree-cutting site, a small sapling

[1] Technically speaking, only the Cimba, Munuca, Citikafula, Katenda, Mulombwelua can enter the *benye* shrines with the *bamukabenye*, but a quarrel between the Citimukulu and the Cimba had prevented the latter attending to purify the chief, and therefore the latter could not enter his own relic shrine, and the Munuca remained away as a sign of protest.

introducer of *Butwa* throughout these parts, and his name is famous in many a *Butwa* song."(1) Membership was open to all, irrespective of age and sex. The Ant-hill clan was particularly closely associated with the society. Refusal to join on the part of either of the spouses was a valid cause of divorce. A higher grade of elders (*mangulu*) in the society was constituted by members of both sexes who wore a special dress, bore special names and claimed to possess supernatural powers. Sessions were held annually or at longer intervals. The candidates, who had to pay an initiation fee, were given the *chibolo* concoction to drink and were paraded under an arch of bent saplings before entering the temple where sexual intercourse took place. Later they were given fetish horns by the elders of the society. Painted in stripes and smeared with white chalk they participated in the all-night dancing (imitative of the movements of the crested crane), the beer-drinking, and the festivities which followed. A good deal of sexual licence was allowed within the precincts of the temple. Members were bound to assist one another in sickness and need and were forbidden, under penalty of death, to divulge the society's secrets. *Butwa* performed fertility rites; it wielded considerable political power, so that the chiefs had to treat it with respect. It was feared by outsiders who charged it with terrorism and robbery. Special funerary ceremonies were performed at the death of members. Members of *Butwa* used an esoteric language, *Bubendo*; this was an argot formed by transposing syllables, changing initial letters and introducing obsolete words and compound metaphorical expressions. *Butwa* songs were sung by women members to the accompaniment of *chansa*, a musical instrument resembling the guitar. Apparently still flourishing in the first decade of the twentieth century, the society is said to have since died away.(2)

575 [586] [786] [302 535] [786] [766] [198] [535 534]

Blood-Brotherhood

Blood-brotherhood pacts were contracted between the natives and the Arab traders.(3) A marriage with a native girl, presumably a maternal relative of the blood-brother, was a usual concomitant of the ceremony.

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Guilds

Occupational guilds were known in the Chishinga(4) and Aushi country where iron-ore smelting and iron-working were hereditary crafts surrounded by a wealth of ritual. It is likely that they also functioned in the Luapula valley while the industry was alive, though no mention of this occurs in the available sources.

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POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The Kazembe was formerly an absolute overlord, subordinate in name only to Muata Yamvo to whom he continued to send annual tribute.(5) Lukwesa Mpanga did not send any for three years. When several of his subjects were killed or savaged by wild animals this was interpreted as a punishment for his neglect. He made amends by sending a convoy with slaves, salt and copper.(6)

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(1) Campbell, op.cit.
(2) Brelsford, 1, 1946, p.14.
(3) Livingstone, II, p.258.
(4) Brelsford, 3, 1949.
(5) Valdez, II, p.174.
(6) Pogge, 1880.

5 Slaski E-4 (no date) 1950 FQ5 Bemba FQ5
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643 At state functions the Kazembe appeared sitting on a stool placed upon
292 lion-skins. He was shaded by a canopy of umbrellas made of coarse native
293 cotton fabric(1) and wore an elaborate head-dress of scarlet and yellow
534 feathers, the *muconzo* cloth adorned with bead and cowrie ornaments, the
insipo girdle of hide,(2) and the *lukano* armband, emblem of his office.(3)
535 His notables and musicians sat nearby. Ceremonial dancing was performed
to the accompaniment of music.(4) Musical instruments(5) were *marimba*(6)
(a sort of xylophone), *chincufo*(7) (a basso drum), *imbirebire* (big conical
drum with cowhide or an elephant's ear stretched over the open end), *gomati*
(two pieces of iron connected by a curved rod). The *mondo*,(8) a hollow
wooden cylinder beated with drumsticks, was used to convey messages by means
of varying combinations of beats. The big sacred *chambancua* drum,(9) rest-
ing on a lion's skin in Kazembe's palace, was only brought out in wartime to
accompany the armies.

521 Clan and tribal history and family genealogies are favourite subjects
526 of discussion at beer-drinking parties. District and village rivalry now
finds expression in football matches.

BIRTH, MARRIAGE, DEATH

842 The male alone was thought to be instrumental in begetting children.
847 Babies who cut their upper teeth first were destroyed as bearers of bad
luck.(9) An infant is usually given the name of one of its dead ancestors
551 on either the paternal or maternal side; this gives some indication of an-
cestry. Chinyanta, Lukwesa, Ilunga, Muonga, are characteristic Lunda
names.

582 The effective exogamous unit is the *cikota*. Preferential marriage is
with the *mufyala*, a person whose father is a fellow-clansman of one's mother
or conversely, and particularly with father's sister's daughter. A network
of affinal relationships thus develops between villages. In general there
are no definite preferences leading to marriages between certain clans, but
583 traditional reputations attaching to clans may cause their members to be
regarded as desirable or undesirable marriage partners. Marriage payments
591 are low. Both matrilocal and patrilocal marriages occur, but for the first
few years marriage is usually matrilocal so that the husband can "get
accustomed". He puts up a temporary hut in the *citente* of his parents-in-
law and becomes a member of their extended family. Later the couple are at
liberty to move. Often the parents of both spouses live in the same
595 village. Lunda marriages tend to be patrilocal. Polygyny is not frequent.
The second wife is usually inherited, e.g. she may be one's elder brother's
widow. A man may marry a younger sister of his wife but not an elder sis-
ter, since she is called *mayofyala*, "mother-in-law".

744 The dead are buried in the bush. A *mvali* (see p.86 above) of the de-
ceased takes part in the ceremony. To divert the thoughts of the partici-

(1) Burton, p.254.
(2) Valdez, II, pp.217-8; cf. Livingstone, I, pp.262-3; Burton, p.42; Bowdich, p.91
(3) Burton, p.253. (4) Valdez, II, p.227; Burton, p.114.
(5) Valdez, op.cit., pp.222-4; Livingstone, I, p.305.
(6) Burton, p.112; Valdez, op.cit., p.255.
(7) Camitto, I, p.343. (8) ibid., pp.342-3.
(9) ibid., pp.331-2. (10) Livingstone, I, p.276.

4: Stannus D-5 (ca. 1909) 1910 FT7 Yao FT7
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mother is very careful about this in preparing his food lest he die in consequence. He henceforth bears his man's name, and it is an insult to use his child's name again. V 551 881

Initiation of girls takes place in much the same way, instruction being given by the old women. After initiation most girls wear a string of big blue beads round the neck. In some cases, where it is not convenient to go far into the bush, a patch of bush near the village may be selected, the approaches are carefully guarded, and pieces of calico on bamboos are used as flags to mark the place. V 881

Namwali ceremony witnessed at Kasanka's village (Awisa tribe) August 30th, 1907:—A girl about fourteen years of age, well developed. Among the Awisa the initiation ceremony takes place when the girl has reached puberty and is ready to be married. Four days are spent by the candidate in a small grass hut built in the middle of the *bwalo* (= village open space), when instruction is given her in all her future duties by a woman who is her "friend," in this case a woman of about twenty-six years of age. B 881

About mid-day of the fourth day she was brought into the *bwalo* wearing old calico round the waist, and with two friends, one on either side, danced a kind of shuffling step backwards and forwards to the time of four drums; it was witnessed by the women of the village, who occasionally joined in the dance. After this she retired, and later in the afternoon reappeared with blue calico from waist as far as knees, white calico tied round waist as a sash, a rope of blue beads round neck and under arms. On the head she wore an erection made of flour and water with a B [535] B [302]

FIG. 1.

central crest into which were stuck little pieces of reed, lines of red were painted on the white ground as shown in sketch. Always supported by her "friend" or "sponsor," she again danced for a few minutes and then departed.

This night about twelve midnight *Zingan* was to be danced; all the evening and up till midnight a boy went round and round the village calling in a shrill voice warning none to approach. It was a very dark moonless night, and to the beating of seven drums (four small, two medium sized, one big) the *Zingan* came into the *bwalo*. One was an elephant 8 feet high with a man in each pair of legs—made of grass, trunk and tusks complete; the other, called an *Nswala* (a small antelope), resembled a dwarf jack-in-the-green more than anything else. The elephant pranced, the *Nswala* spun round and round; each was attended by a man with a B [534] B [778]